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PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

7582.181
1833

Massachusetts Colonization Society,

HELD IN

PARK STREET CHURCH, FEB. 7, 1833.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

HELD IN

PARK STREET CHURCH, FEB. 7, 1833.

TOGETHER WITH

THE SPEECHES DELIVERED ON THAT OCCASION BY HON. MESSRS. EVERETT, LADD, AND CUSHING, AND REV. MESSRS. STOW AND BLAGDEN.

7582.151
1833

ALSO THE LETTERS OF

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR LINCOLN,

AND

THE HON. SAMUEL LATHROP,

COMMUNICATED TO THE MEETING.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY PEIRCE AND PARKER,
No 9, Cornhill.
1833.

American Statistical Association.

June 24, 1904

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society was held in Park Street Church, on Thursday Evening, Feb. 7, 1833. At half past 6 o'clock, the Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, of Salem, took the chair. After a voluntary on the organ, the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. JOEL H. LINSLEY.

The Credentials of Delegates from Auxiliary Societies were then received, when it appeared that the following gentlemen had been appointed by their respective Societies.

Worcester Co. Auxiliary. Hon. W. S. HASTINGS, A. D. FOSTER, and C. ALLEN, Esquires.

Hampshire. Hon. ELIPHALET WILLIAMS and GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq.

Hampden. Hon. WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, Hon. PATRICK BOIES, Hon. GEORGE BLISS, and GEORGE ASHMUN, Esq.

Berkshire. Hon. THOMAS B. STRONG and Hon. EDWARD STEVENS, of the Senate. SAMUEL M. MACKAY and HENRY MARSH, Esq. of the House.

Franklin. None.

The following Letter to the General Agent of the Parent Society was read to the meeting.

BOSTON, FEB. 7, 1833.

I had the honor to receive, this morning, through your kind communication, the invitation of the Committee of Arrangements, to attend the Anniversary Celebration of the Massachusetts Colonization Society,—and I beg to assure you, that it is with great regret, that I find myself prevented, by previous engagements, the gratification of being present on so interesting an occasion.

The objects of the Society appear to me, to be in accordance with the dictates of an enlightened and enlarged philanthropy, seeking to ameliorate the condition of the most oppressed and abused of our fellow men. Its measures have been pursued with a zeal and perseverance worthy the noble purpose, at the same time, characterized by that prudence and discretion, and attended with a success, which cheer the heart with a reasonable hope of their eminently beneficial results. I can see nothing in the history of the past operations of the Society which should create distrust of its salutary influences, in any section of

our country, much less give cause for hostility to its humane and Christian charities, directed to enlightening the ignorant, sending a pure religion to the heathen, restoring the African to his native land, and making that land the residence of the happy and the free.

With great respect,
I am, Sir,
Most faithfully,
Your obliged and ob't ser'vt,

LEVI LINCOLN.

Rev. J. N. DANFORTH, Agent Am. Colonization Society.

A letter from the Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, President of the Society, was communicated to the Secretary, of which the following is a copy:

WEST SPRINGFIELD, FEB. 1, 1833.

SIR—Your favor of the 30th of January has been this day received. You will be pleased to express to the Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, my respectful acknowledgments for this manifestation of their desire, that I should attend and preside at their next annual meeting, to be holden on the evening of Feb. 7th. It would be to me a source of high gratification to be permitted to attend this meeting, and to participate in the consultations of the evening, in the measures to be proposed for adoption for the purpose of imparting new life and vigor into their operations, and in the mutual congratulations which must result from a view of the past success and future prospects of the parent society. But I apprehend that the obstacles to my attendance, at that particular time, will be insurmountable.

While I make my acknowledgments to the gentlemen composing this Society, for the honor they saw fit to confer upon me, by electing me their first President, and for having since repeated this expression of their respect, I may be permitted to suggest, that, in my opinion, it would be desirable, that the office should be conferred upon some person who lives not so remote from the place of holding the meetings and transacting the business of the society, and on whose presence and active co-operation in all efficient measures, they may be able to calculate with a greater degree of certainty.

The American Colonization Society has proposed for its object, a great work; no less than the removal of the whole of the colored population within our borders, so far as it can be done by their voluntary consent, and without infringing upon the rights of property which are sanctioned by the laws of some of the States. It is a good work—a work of patriotism, humanity, and Christianity—it opens a door through which the slave may be manumitted with safety to the state, and with reasonable encouragement to a life of industry and virtue—through which the free colored population may be elevated from the state of degradation in which they now move, and be admitted to the equal enjoyment of the rights and privileges of citizens and freemen, and by which, the blessings of civilization and Christianity may be imparted to Africa.—Even if we should not be able to anticipate the accomplishment of the whole compass of our wishes in relation to our own country, still there are ample motives for perseverance. Thousands of those who, scattered among a white population, can be free only in name, may there enjoy the blessings of liberty and of free institutions, and transmit them to millions of their descendants, through untold generations. The efforts of civilization and Christianity to exalt and dignify the human character will be presented to the Africans, both by precept and example, and in a form the most attractive to them, in its effects upon people of their own country and color. I view the establishment of the Colonization Society, as one of the means among the benevolent operations of the day, and the principal one, for the regeneration of a continent.

Accept my thanks, dear sir, for the kind manner in which you have communicated the request of the Managers, and believe me, yours most respectfully,

SAM'L LATHROP.

Dr. J. V. C. SMITH, Sec'ry Mass. Col. Society.

The Report was read by the Secretary, Dr. J. V. C. SMITH. All the important items embraced in it are here given :

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in presenting their Annual Report, congratulate their fellow-citizens, and would render thanks to the Author of all mercies, that the cause which they advocate has, during the last year, been crowned with increasing and brilliant success.

Never, perhaps, since the foundation of the Parent Institution at the National Capital in the year 1816, have the objects embraced in its plan excited deeper interest throughout the country than at this moment. Information, widely diffused, has produced argument: argument has strengthened conviction of the excellence and utility of the system: and conviction has led to vigorous action. While the Board of Managers would mention with gratitude, the fact, that none of their number, during the past year, have been removed by death, they have the solemn duty of recording the decease of the venerable President of the Parent Institution, CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, whose younger days were devoted to the service of his country—whose later days were blessed with a green old age—and with whose descent into the tomb disappeared the last remnant of that immortal band that gave to our country the charter of its freedom.

The Board take this opportunity to express their high satisfaction on learning that the distinguished chair, thus vacated by the Providence of God, was, at the late national anniversary, so judiciously filled by the appointment of JAMES MADISON, the oldest surviving President of the United States—a constant friend of the Society.

In reviewing the progress of the cause in our own State, it is proper to mention that we believe we speak the sentiments of New England generally, as well as of the great portion of the people of Massachusetts, when we say, they would not usurp the agitation of so perilous a question as that of slavery, while they are willing to co-operate in any wise measures for its extinction—and would frankly express their earnest wish for the speedy removal of this evil. The people of the North need not to be reminded that they have bound themselves by the terms of the social compact, to respect the legal rights of slave holders,—however averse to slavery as a system.

Under a sense of these obligations, and with the hope that Providence will lead the way to universal emancipation, they would repress the spirit and abstain from the language of sweeping denunciation. So far as the influence of this Society extends, it may be considered as pledged to promote those calm and kindly feelings which are congenial to the constitution and habits of thinking of northern citizens ;—to frown upon all attempts to alienate the different sections of the republic ;—to promote the progress of reformation by mild and peaceful, rather than by harsh measures,—and to seek the good of the slave by gaining the con

fidence of the master, rather than insure his interminable bondage, by exciting distrust, fear, and opposition.

In the month of May last, a pamphlet was issued, under the direction of the Board, for gratuitous distribution, embracing important facts concerning the Colony of Liberia, and developing principles connected with the operations of the Society in this country, which, in connection with the active agency of a number of students of the Theological Seminary at Andover, who volunteered their services, we have reason to believe produced a happy effect in the community. Other means, in different forms, were also used, adapted to awaken inquiry, and to stimulate to effort, especially at that season of the year which is distinguished by the recurrence of the anniversary of National Independence, and which has, by common consent and usage, been associated with the national anniversary. The result has been an increase of the amount of collections, in churches which had been accustomed to take up collections—and the commencement of the system, where there had been no previous contributions.

It is desirable that all the churches, without distinction of denomination, should cordially and liberally enter into this plan, which would add thousands to this useful treasury of benevolence. We say useful, because, if we mistake not, no funds of the same amount, belonging to any institution in the world, have been applied with a more remarkably practical success. The whole sum expended by the Parent Society, up to April, 1832, is but about 155,000 dollars, while the amount of exports from the Colony the year preceding was about $120,000—and of imports, for that year, $80,000.

This unprecedented commercial prosperity is but one item in the catalogue of benefits which have but *begun* to bless the land of the African, so long the theatre of a system of cupidity and cruelty, unparalleled in the annals of the world. It is not merely that a new spring is given to industry in that quarter of the globe:—the colored race is gradually but certainly becoming invested with a power which will move that spring with an energy and a style of action unknown in their history for the lapse of centuries.

The spirit of enterprize on the coast of Africa, and the spirit of emigration in the Southern and Western States, are such, that it was announced at the late anniversary in Washington, that $200,000 could now be profitably expended in fitting out expeditions for that land of promise. A letter from John McPhail, Esq. of Norfolk, addressed to a member of the Massachusetts Board, under date January 1st, 1833, has the following, after acknowledging the reception of certain donations:—

"Owing to the ship Lafayette, from Baltimore, being unexpectedly filled up wholly with emigrants from Maryland, the Colonization Society had to charter another vessel, the brig Roanoke, which sailed from here on the 4th ult. for Liberia, having on

board 127 emigrants, many of them possessing more than ordinary intelligence. Among them are three regularly licensed Methodist and one Baptist preacher,—and you will be pleased to hear that of the 127 emigrants, 115 were lately liberated on condition of their going to Africa. Many more of the same description are offered, but for want of funds to bear the expenses of transportation, it will be some time before the Society can accept of them, and nothing but funds are wanting to increase the population of Liberia as fast as it would be prudent to do so.

"I have annexed a list of emigrants to Africa for the last thirteen months.

"In the ship James Perkins, 343; ship Jupiter, first voyage, 177; second voyage, 38; brig American, 128; brig Roanoke, 127—all from Virginia; ship Hercules, from Charleston, 150; ship Lafayette, from Baltimore, 150;—making in all, 1113, exclusive of those shipped from New Orleans and other quarters, numbers unknown."

The National Society is at the present time turning its attention particularly to the agriculture of the Colony, having offered premiums to the Colonists, to a considerable amount, for the promotion of this object.

The subject of education has received special attention during the past year. Schools for the instruction of all children in the Colony are established, or in progress, and the strongest assurances given that no pains shall be spared to diffuse a spirit of mental and moral improvement throughout this infant empire. Contemplating the enterprise in this light, it appears eminently worthy of the patronage and prayers of the people of New England. Already has a liberal philanthropist in the city of New York made a donation of upwards of $2000 for the establishment of a high school for girls in the Colony.

A recent letter from the Secretary at Washington gives the following interesting particulars:—

"Valuable additional territory has been purchased, both at Grand Cape Mount and Grand Bassa—and settlements, it is expected, will soon be commenced at both these places. The chiefs of Grand Cape have made the grant of lands on the sole condition that settlers shall be placed upon it, and that schools shall be established for the benefit of native children. The annual exports from Cape Mount, are estimated at from 60 to 70,000 dollars. Both the agricultural and commercial interests of the Colony have greatly advanced, during the year. Coffee has become an article of cultivation, and twenty thousand trees have been planted by a single individual, at one of the villages of the recaptured Africans. The agent saw one hundred and fifty acres planted with cassada and other vegetables. During the year, preceding the first of May last—59 vessels had visited Monrovia, —of which 32 were Americans, 25 English, and two French. Caravans have visited the Colony, from remote parts of the interior."

"Three churches have been erected,—one at Monrovia, and two others at the villages of the re-captured Africans. The Agent of the Society, Elliot Cresson, has done much for the cause in England. He has remitted to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society $1332, and to the Parent Society $2429. One generous individual in England has offered to give £500, if nine others will consent to do the same, and it is hoped that such a number of subscriptions may be obtained."

In adverting to the efforts made for our cause in this Commonwealth, it would be unjust, not to take notice of the Auxiliary Societies,—whose energetic benevolence is an example to the State. Upwards of $700 have been contributed by the Worcester County Society the past season, and $200 a year, for two years to come, have been pledged—half by the Hampshire County Society, besides its other sources of income—and half by an individual member of that Society.

County Societies have, during the year, through the exertions of the General Agent of the Society for the Northern States, been formed in Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire Counties, embracing among their officers, intelligent and leading men in the several districts. Nothing but a small degree of exertion is requisite to form such Societies in every County in the State—public sentiment being strongly in favor of the Colonization System.

The Massachusetts Colonization Society, Auxiliary to the National Colonization Society, was organized in Boston, as recently as 1831. Its operations have been necessarily limited—owing partly to the distance at which a majority of its members reside from the city; but the Board of Managers have never been unmindful of the high responsibilities resting upon them. They have forwarded to the treasurer at Washington, from time to time, all the sums at their disposal—and the aggregate has been far greater than could reasonably have been anticipated, when we take into consideration the infancy of the Society. The income has been gradually increasing, by the exertion and influence of district associations, and the benevolent labors of good men in various sections of the Commonwealth.

An interesting correspondence has been carried on by a Committee of the Board, on the subject of education in the Colony of Liberia—which has resulted in the appropriation by this Society, of $400 a year for the support of a colored male instructor and $200 for the maintenance of a colored woman, who are competent to discharge the duties of public instructors of the youth of Liberia—and who will co-operate with others, in raising the standard of education, morality, and social happiness on that once degraded coast.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of all the minor concerns of this association, which have had for their object the investigation of facts—accompanied with a determined resolution,

not to be inattentive nor idle spectators of one of the grandest schemes of charity and refined benevolence, which true philanthropy has ever presented to any age or country.

While the Board of Managers gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the friends of African Colonization, who have sustained them, thus far, in the great plan of enlarging the sphere of Christianity, civilization, useful knowledge, and human happiness,—they humbly and fervently pray that the cause which they are pleading for the oppressed, the wretched African, may continue to have the blessing and approving smile of Heaven.

Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT moved the acceptance of the Report, and made, in substance, the following remarks.

I rise, Mr. President, to move the acceptance of the Report which has just been read, and I avail myself of the occasion to make a few observations upon the objects and character of this Association. I shall confine myself to as narrow limits as possible, as well that I may not exhaust your patience, as that I may not encroach too much upon the time which will be so much more agreeably and profitably occupied by the gentlemen who will follow me.

The idea, Mr President, which first suggested the establishment of this Association was extremely simple. There are constantly many persons among the proprietors of slaves in the Southern States, who are desirous, from various motives, to give them their liberty,—some for the purpose of relieving themselves from a troublesome and dangerous neighborhood, others from conscientious scruples as to the propriety of retaining them in servitude, and all, probably, from a wish to promote their happiness. But before the establishment of this Association, it was found very difficult for such persons to realize their benevolent views, in consequence of the embarrassing position of the slaves after their emancipation. In some of the states free blacks are not permitted to reside; in others their situation is, for obvious reasons, uncomfortable; in none will they be able, while the present prejudice against their color remains in full force, to place themselves on a footing of perfect social and political equality with the whites. Under these circumstances, the idea naturally occurred to some benevolent persons, that by planting a Colony of free and civilized blacks upon the coast of Africa, an asylum might be provided where the manumitted slave, returning to the home of his fathers, might enjoy with his recovered liberty the political and social rights and blessings, without which liberty is not worth having.

Such, Sir, if I rightly understand the matter, was the simple object for which this Association was originally formed, and if it never had effected, and were never likely to effect any other good than that of furnishing a convenient refuge for emancipated slaves, and thus facilitating and encouraging the process of emancipation, it would be well entitled to public favor. But, such is the wise and beautiful economy of Providence, that when we sincerely and honestly attempt to accomplish some good purpose, we generally find that we also promote, at the same time, various others of a kindred character, that are directly or indirectly connected with it;—often much more important than the one originally intended. The founders of the Colonization Society contemplated probably, the formation of a modest settlement, where an oppressed and suffering class of our countrymen might rest from their labors. This they are accomplishing, but they are accomplishing, and will accomplish a great deal more. Sir, they have taken the first steps in an enterprise, of which the final results will be the complete abolition of the slave trade and the regeneration of the great continent of Africa. It is now about fifteen years since the Association was formed, and so rapidly have its consequences been realized, that it has already become the object of admiration throughout the world. One of the most enlightened and distinguished noblemen in England—Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer—at a late public meeting, pronounced the foundation of the Colony of Liberia to be one of the greatest events of modern times.

Sir, I cannot help viewing it in that light. It is now apparent, that the great evil of the slave trade was the means, prepared in the order of Providence, for planting the germs of improvement among the black race, and ultimately restoring them to their ancient rank in the great human family. The success of the Colony of Liberia will doubtless lead to the establishment of others on the same principles in other parts of the coast, until it is finally covered by a continuous chain of these settlements. This will effectually cut off the accursed traffic in human flesh, which all the other means that have been adopted for the purpose have only seemed to aggravate. From the coast, the arts and comforts of life, education, religion, will gradually extend themselves into the interior, until, as we may reasonably hope, they effect a complete revolution in the condition of the inhabitants, and bring them back to the high state of civilization which, at a former period of their history, a part of them at least appear to have attained.

A variety of circumstances, Mr. President, seem to concur to render the present moment, and the place where the Colony has been founded, the most propitious that could possibly have been selected for such a purpose. At a time when the failure of innumerable attempts to explore the central regions of Africa, and the untimely death of the enterprizing travellers who have engaged in them had nearly induced the friends of humanity and improvement to abandon the undertaking, two or three parties, more fortunate than their predecessors, have succeeded almost simultaneously in penetrating by different routes, into the heart of the interior of this mysterious continent. All the great geographical problems connected with it, that had so long baffled the curiosity of inquirers, are now solved. An obscure and unpretending Frenchman, without education or advantages; two English brothers, belonging to the class of domestic servants, have, to their lasting honor, accomplished what scientific travellers and powerful associations had so long attempted in vain. The position of Timbuctoo has at last been ascertained,—the course of the Niger has been explored. That river has been found to empty itself into the Atlantic Ocean at a point not very remote from the infant Colony of Liberia. The portion of Africa which it waters appears, from the accounts of these travellers, to be one of the finest regions on the globe—resembling in its physical characteristics the valley of the Mississippi—blest with every advantage of soil and climate, covered with towns and villages, peopled by a race who have made no inconsiderable progress in the arts of life. Within a very few years, perhaps months, we shall hear of steam boats navigating this unexplored river, of which, two years ago, the most learned geographer did not know the direction or outlet. Thus a free and easy communication with the most populous and cultivated portions of Africa has happily been opened at the very moment when the first germs of improvement have been planted on the coast, and every facility is afforded for a rapid diffusion of their fruits over the whole continent.

I confess, Mr. President, that I look forward with much satisfaction to the results of these interesting events. I anticipate with very great pleasure the period when the whole South-western coast of Africa will be covered with flourishing settlements of free blacks, and when a constant and free intercourse will be held between them and the inland nations in their neighborhood. I rejoice at it, not merely because it will open to our enterprizing merchants a new and lucrative branch of trade—although this of itself is no contemptible advantage—but, Sir, I rejoice at it because it will, as I have already remarked, utterly and forever annihilate that abominable traffic, which, for the last three centuries has been the standing disgrace of Christendom: I rejoice at it, because it will elevate millions of our fellow-men from a rude and semi-barbarous, to a civilized condition. Is it not delightful, Sir, to think that the schoolmaster, who, we are told, is abroad every where, will shortly be at home in Africa? that the light of learning will very soon visit her populous towns and cities? that the apostle of the true religion will pitch his tent under the shade of her lofty palm trees? that the banks of her broad and noble rivers will resound with the sweet music of the songs of Zion? Is there any thing visionary in these anticipations? Sir, they are simple statements of facts which are going on before our eyes. While I am now speaking, the enterprizing brothers, who first broke the spell, which for ages preceding, had shrouded the course of the Niger in a cloud of impenetrable mystery, are ascending that river with their steam boats.

While I am now speaking, preparations are making in this very city, to take advantage of the first opening afforded by the discoveries that they may make, for the purpose of establishing missionary stations in the heart of Africa. No, Sir, there is nothing visionary in all this. I have stated merely facts, but they are facts more strange, more interesting, more delightful than the fairest dreams of the most poetical fancy.

In all this movement, Mr. President, the Colony at Liberia, and the others that will probably be established on the same plan, will be among the most effective and useful instruments. But, Sir, we are sometimes told that all these efforts will be unavailing—that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation to vegetate forever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject with contempt and indignation this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were, and what they did, three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front in the march of civilization —when they constituted, in fact, the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors:—they had it from the Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word—from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities—such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi—came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world They will be, what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Pauls,—the present pride of Rome and London.

Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race?—It is sometimes pretended, that, though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history—who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe, that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.

So much for the supposed inferiority of the colored race, and their incapacity to make any progress in civilization and improvement. And it is worth while, Mr. President, to remark, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, but which does not exist to any thing like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I just alluded, when the blacks took precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed. The early Greek writers speak of the Ethiopians and Egyptians as a superior variety of the species:—superior, not merely in intellectual and moral qualities, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance. The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beau-

ty. The black prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, (probably an Egyptian prince,) is constantly spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers, as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora, or the Morning. There are, in short, no traces of any prejudice whatever against the color of the blacks, like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. This prejudice forms at present, as was correctly observed by President Madison in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention, the chief obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of them who reside in this country. If they were of the same race with ourselves, the process of emancipation would be rapid, and almost imperceptible, as happened in Europe, when the mass of the population passed, in the course of two or three centuries, from a state of villenage to that of personal independence, with so little trouble or commotion, that there are scarcely traces enough left in the history of the times to inform us of the means by which the change was immediately accomplished.

I have enlarged a little, Mr. President, upon the effect which the operations of this Association, in connexion with other causes, is likely to produce upon the civilization of Africa, because it is to me the most interesting aspect, under which the Association can be considered. Other gentlemen may prefer to view it under others, but this is the result which seems to be likely to prove the most important and salutary. I was not, Mr. President—if so humble an individual may be permitted to allude to his own private sentiments, upon a subject of so much interest—I was not, in the first instance, very favorably impressed in regard to the character of this institution. Looking at it as it has been sometimes represented, as intended chiefly to remove from this country the colored portion of the population, I was inclined to consider it as an inadequate instrument for effecting an object in itself impracticable, and which, if it could be effected, would be, after all, of doubtful utility. The pecuniary means at the disposal of the Association never have been, and probably never will be, sufficient to pay the expenses of the transportation to Africa of a tenth part of the annual increase of the colored people. It is quite clear, therefore, that there could be no prospect of ever making any approach, in this way, to a removal of the whole mass. And, Sir, if this could be effected, why should we desire it? Is there not ample room and verge enough in our vast territory for the whole population of all colors, classes, and descriptions? Is it not our true policy rather, as far as possible, to induce emigration from abroad, than to endeavor to remove two or three millions of our present inhabitants? Whatever may be the case in the crowded countries of the Old World, here at least, thank God, there is no pressure of population upon the means of subsistence. Sir, it is literally true in this country, that the harvest is many and the laborers few. And this being the case, shall the little accident of the different color which it has pleased Providence to give to their complexion, render an entire variety of our fellow-men so odious to us, that we cannot abide them in the same continent? Suppose, Sir, that you or I, or any individual, had it in his power, by a mere act of the will, to change the color of the whole black race to white, would it be a proof of good sense and good feeling to exercise the power? Suppose that an individual had it in his power by an act of the will, to change all the black eyes in this assembly to blue, or all the white and yellow roses in our gardens to red? Would he think it worth while to exercise it? Sir, one of these operations would be just as judicious as the other. The attempt to break down the beautiful variety that pervades all the works of Providence into a tame and monotonous sameness, is every way objectionable. To desire the removal of two millions of our population, merely because their complexion is different from that of the rest, would be inconsistent with any correct principles of taste, morals, or political economy. No Sir, I am quite willing that the colored people should remain with us. What we really ought to desire is, that their present political situation should be improved, that they should be, in the language of Curran, redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled—that they should be placed, in short, on an equal footing in point of civil and political rights, with all the other inhabitants of our favored country. This, Sir, is a change which ought to be effected—which must, at some time or other, be effected—which, I have no hesitation in saying, will at no very distant period be effected. By what means it is to be brought about, I shall not undertake to anticipate. The selection of these must be left to the intelligence and liberality of the States

which are now the immediate sufferers under this great evil. The operation of curing it is too delicate to be advantageously undertaken by any foreign hand. That it will pretty soon be undertaken and carried through by the States most immediately interested, may be looked upon as a matter of absolute certainty. Independently of the higher motives of humanity, justice, generosity, and love of freedom, so congenial to the noble character of our Southern brethren, we have a strong assurance of this in the fact, that their own immediate interest is deeply engaged in taking this measure. The conviction is every day more and more strongly and generally felt at the South, that this is the real plague-spot, which corrupts the secret sources of their prosperity. Other causes may, to a certain extent, have co-operated in checking the progress of this part of the country, but it is now pretty generally acknowledged, that the real and only effective evil is *Slavery*. It is this, Sir, and not the Tariff, that throws a blight over the fair face of one of the most favored regions of the globe, and exhibits it in respect to wealth and comfort, under so unpleasant a contrast with other much less fertile portions of the Union. The conviction of this truth has already taken deep root at the South, particularly in the distinguished and leading state of Virginia. Its final result will be the complete emancipation of all the slaves.

Without co-operating directly in effecting this object, which is not within their sphere of action, the Colonization Society gives, indirectly, a very important and effectual aid in bringing it about. By cutting up the infamous traffic in human flesh at the roots, it prevents the increase of the evil, which would otherwise be occasioned by clandestine importations. By establishing Colonies of free and civilized blacks in Africa, and raising the general standard of civilization on that continent, it will gradually remove the prejudice against the colored race, and place them in public opinion where they ought to stand—upon a footing of perfect equality with their brethren of the great human family. In proportion as these objects are accomplished, the task of final emancipation will be comparatively easy, and may be ultimately effected almost without effort. By looking at the Association under this point of view, I have been led, Sir, to correct the impression which I had originally formed of it, and to consider it—as it is generally considered by the enlightened citizens of our country—as one of the most valuable and important of our benevolent Associations.

I am aware, Sir, that some objections have lately been raised against the objects and modes of proceeding of this Association, especially in this part of the country. It is not my purpose to enter at length into an examination and refutation of those objections. The length of time during which I have already trespassed upon your patience, would render it improper, and I must leave this part of the subject to be treated in detail by some of the gentlemen who may follow me, and who will doubtless do it justice. I will merely remark, that giving full credit to the members of other Associations for the goodness of their intentions, and without inquiring too minutely whether their language and proceedings have, on every occasion, been marked by the perfect discretion so essential to any effectual step in this delicate business, it is difficult to see why they should think it necessary to impeach the motives and attack the proceedings of an Institution, which is pursuing with zeal, steadiness, and thus far, with signal succes, a kindred object, that not only in no way interferes with, but greatly promotes and facilitates, the one at which they profess to aim. Do the gentlemen, who are so anxious for the immediate abolition of slavery, suppose that this most desirable consummation will be retarded by completely eradicating the slave trade, and proving the capacity of the colored people for civilization and freedom, by that best of all possible tests—example? Sir, the operations of the Colonization Society will do more than any other cause to give encouragement to all the efforts that may be made with discretion and judgment for the improvement of the condition of the slaves. I cannot but hope, that reflection and experience will gradually satisfy such of our fellow-citizens in this neighborhood as are now disposed to doubt the expediency of our efforts. In the mean time, Sir, the opposition which we have to encounter here, has at least this good effect, that it affords to our Southern brethren the best evidence they could possibly have, that this Institution is managed with the necessary discretion and moderation. When they find it attacked, as too favorable to the interests of the proprietors of slaves, by men whom we may perhaps, without offence, denominate the indiscreet friends of freedom and humanity, they will naturally conclude that we have observed, in our proceed-

ings, the caution which the nature of the object so imperiously dictates, and that our errors, if we have committed any, are on the safe side.

Permit me, sir, before I close, to congratulate you and the Association upon the manner in which the vacancy, occasioned in the Presidency of the Association by the lamented decease of the last Signer of the Declaration of Independence, has been recently filled. The venerable sage of Montpelier, Mr. Madison, has consented, by accepting this place, to lend the sanction of his great name to this good cause. It would be quite superfluous, Sir, to attempt to enlarge on the value of this sanction, or to recapitulate the numerous titles which this eminent statesman and patriot has acquired to the esteem and confidence of his country. This last labor will close, in a truly consistent and honorable manner, the serene, and, I trust, long to be protracted evening of his glorious life. The concerns of the Association, Mr. President, as we have just learned from the able Report of the Agent, are in every respect in a very flourishing condition. The Colony has surmounted the difficulties incident to every new establishment of this description, and has reached a point from which its future progress may be regarded as comparatively easy and sure. The order and comfort prevailing among its inhabitants have already excited the admiration of the neighboring Africans, and created a strong impression in favor of civilization, improvement, and Christianity. The liberality of some of the states has furnished an abundant supply of additional resources, and every appearance seems to prognosticate, for the Association, a career of constantly augmenting activity and usefulness. Let me hope, Mr. President, that no inauspicious event may occur to blast these fair prospects, and that we may witness, within our own time, some of the great results which this Association is destined to produce abroad and at home.

Rev. J. N. DANFORTH, on rising to second the resolution offered by Mr. EVERETT, remarked that he had expected to have the pleasure of seeing this done by Dr. J. C. WARREN, who had sent a note to the Meeting, which he held in his hand, and which he would ask permission to read.

[This note apologized for unavoidable absence, and expressed a lively interest in the objects of the Society.]

Mr. D. proceeded to explain an item in the Report, which seemed not to be understood by some of the assembly. It referred to the appropriation by the Massachusetts Board, during the past week, of six hundred dollars, for purposes of education in Liberia, and the reservation of four hundred more to be placed in charge of the Committee of Correspondence, Rev. Messrs. MALCOM and GANNETT, and to be applied at their discretion to the advancement of education in the Colony. Such benefactions, Mr. D. said, were WORTHY THE CITY OF BOSTON, which had ever been first in cultivating the intellect, and thereby giving it power over the world. He hoped such appropriations would be multiplied by the generosity of the inhabitants of this city.

On motion of WILLIAM LADD Esq. of Maine, seconded by CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq. of this city,

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society merits the confidence and patronage of all who are opposed, on principle, to slavery.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I have been prevailed upon to address the Society this year, chiefly by a desire to correct a very erroneous statement of opinions which I uttered last year on

a similar occasion. I do not accuse any one of *wilfully* misstating my sentiments, the reason of the error was perhaps, the confused manner of my delivering my sentiments, occasioned by the trepidation, which one from the country naturally feels when addressing a refined Boston audience. In a report of that speech, I was made to approve of the withholding of knowledge from the slaves of the south, for fear that, in learning to read the Bible, they would learn to read the encomiums on liberty, and then the inflammatory writings of the north. I was barely stating the excuses of the slave holders, but for myself, Sir, I abhor such sentiments, and were I again a slave holder, I would give my slaves the Bible at all hazards, even if I did not give them their liberty. I like better, Sir, the conduct of some ladies in Charleston who had taught a colored Sabbath school. The state passed a law, making the penalty of any person who taught a coloured person to read and write, thirty nine stripes on the naked back, "well laid on." Sir, I believe the ladies in Charleston *nullified* the act of the state, and well they might; for it was contrary to the constitution of nature. The law was of itself a nullity; for where in the wide world can that miscreant be found, who could inflict such a punishment on a woman. I mean a white woman, Sir, for, alas, every black woman in our southern states is liable to have her back lashed to the bone, and many actually suffer it; and how little does it move the sympathies of their fairer sisters of the north! But, Sir, it is not my intention to excite symyathy by tales of cruelty inflicted on our black brethren; for were an eye witness to state the facts he has seen with his own eyes, they would appear *almost* incredible, and when they had gone through the hands of a repetition they would appear *quite* so.

It is my intention, this evening, to vindicate the society against certain charges brought against it by men whose motives I will not question, and for that purpose offer the following resolution.

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society deserves the patronage of all who are, from principle, opposed to slavery.

The time, Sir, is so far spent, that I can not take up these objections individually, and must, in a manner, take them in the aggregate. Most of the objections brought against the Colonization Society, are founded on the opinions, speeches, and expressions of some of its professed followers and supporters. Sir, the christian religion itself would be condemned by the same superficial judgment, for the same reasons.

Two objections, of a nature contrary to one another, are also brought against the Society. One is, that it is drawing off all the most inteligent of the colored population from the country, and thereby retarding the emancipation of the slaves. The other is, that the Society is guilty of the folly of attempting, with the ignorant and vicious freed slaves of the south, to civilize and evangelize Africa. They charge us with sending only the intelligent free blacks, and they accuse us of sending the ignorant liberated slaves—but the first objection is most insisted on.

In order to understand this subject, a discrimination must be made between these two classes of our black population. Those who are born and educated free, and those who are liberated slaves, and this can be done better by example than description.

Many years ago, I loaded a ship in Savannah and had for my stevedore one Joe Blog. He was one of the smartest and most faithful men I ever employed. I gave his master a dollar a day for him, and gave Joe privately half a dollar a day beside. Joe was active, sleek, well dressed, and sprightly. *Joe was a slave.* Some years after I returned to the same port, and sought out my old friend Joe, and employed him. He was idle, restless, ragged, and lazy, and I soon dismissed him. *Joe was free.* And as far as my observation has extended, and I have lived long in slave countries, this is a fair sample of the liberated slaves, though there are noble exceptions. But I consider it more their misfortune than their fault. With no other incentive to labor than the fear of the lash, uneducated and ignorant, what better can we expect?

But the colored man, born and educated free, is a very different character. I sailed to Europe in the ship Alpha, commanded, and part owned, by Captain Paul Cuffee, and was the only white person on board. Cuffee was an able shipmaster, an honest, virtuous and philanthropic man, and was esteemed in Europe as much, at least, as the supercargo. Soon after that time, Cuffee conceived the idea of colonizing the free colored people in Africa, and made two or three

voyages to Sierra Leone for that purpose, but the war and his subsequent death put an end to his benevolent schemes; had it not been for this, he would probably have commenced a colony near to Sierra Leone under the British flag. He spent a great part of his fortune in these enterprises. I was also acquainted with J. B. Russwurm in his youth, and was once called on an arbitration or council, to settle difficulties which had arisen between the scholars at an academy in Maine, and the town's people. The scholars chose Russwurm for their spokesman, and he managed their cause like an orator. I was present when he took his degree at Bowdoin college, and a more able part was not performed on the stage that day, whether we consider matter or manner. I advised him to go to Hayti, but he took a better course and went to Liberia, where he is now one of the most prominent characters.

Now, Sir, our opponents both in England and America, allow that the scheme of colonizing Africa is beautiful and philanthropic, and it is desirable that Africa should be evangelized and civilized.—Whom shall we send there? such men as Joe Blog? or such men as Cuffee and Russwurm? If the convicts had been sent to this country before the pilgrims, what would now have been our character?

But our opponents tell us that we should send white missionaries to Africa. Sir, it is well known, by sad experience, that white men cannot live for any length of time in Africa; and I verily believe that the Holy Spirit has forbidden the white man to preach the Gospel in the sultry climes of Africa, and reserved that honor for the black man; whose residence even for centuries, in a northern climate, has not so changed his constitution, but that the mortality among the black settlers would not be one tenth so great as among the whites.

But our opponents taunt us with the reproach, that the Colonization Society has *not yet* stopped the slave trade. Sir, it is with grief that I am compelled to allow it. But whose fault is that? Does it belong to those who have done all they can toward it, and are still making progress? or to those who have done all they could to prevent it? Suppose, Sir, a farmer has a fifty acre field to enclose with a fence, and he goes to work, and in two days builds two rods of stone wall, but still the cattle get in and out. His lazy neighbor might taunt him by saying, "Ah, my friend, you see it is of no use to build stone wall; your two rods of fence have not secured your field." Which of the two should we call a wise man? It is true, the settlements of Sierra Leone and Liberia have not *yet* stopped the slave trade beyond the extent of their settlements and influence, and it is, to the disgrace of human nature, carried on to almost as great an extent, and with greater barbarity, than when it was licensed; but they have stopped it on this portion of the coast which they occupy; and when they shall have extended all along the coast, they will effectually fence in Africa, against the man-stealer, and in no other way will the slave trade ever be stopped.

Our anti-slavery friends warn us against the use of the products of slavery, and in this I commend them. But to what country can we look for a substitute for such products with so much hope as to Africa. Already the exports from the colony are considerable, [125,000 during the last year,] and I hope, Sir, to see the day when the exuberant fertility of liberated civilized Africa will furnish us with all the tropical products which we shall need, and thus, while it cuts off the sources of slavery on the one hand, will lessen the demand for the produce of slave labor on the other—when a mighty empire shall arise on the shores of Africa, and such men as Cuffee and Russwurm become the Bradfords, the Cabots and the Winthrops of the new empire. Sir, the scene is bright with anticipations of future glory and happiness which must warm the heart of every philanthropist, and could that arm be found which would rend this scene and tear up by the roots the little settlements of Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the black night of superstition, barbarity and the slave trade, again sweep over unhapppy Africa, should we call it the arm of an angel, or a demon? He might rejoice at the desolations he had caused, but humanity and religion would weep over them. But, Sir, we have no such fears, we believe that the Colonization Societies of this country, and of our friends in Great Britain, will throw a belt of light and beauty around poor Africa, which will forever banish the slave trade and barbarism from that oppressed country, and of itself form also a bond of union between us and our British friends; and the colonies, favored and protected by two of the most powerful nations in the world, will extend and flourish, until our most sanguine expectations shall be realized.

Resolved, That the objects of the American Colonization Society commend themselves with peculiar urgency to the approbation and aid of every Christian in the land.

Mr. STOW, in offering the above resolution, remarked, in substance, as follows:

The patrons of this enterprise doubtless contemplate its character through different mediums, and yield it their friendliness under the influence of different motives. So various are the objects which it is adapted and intended to accomplish, that one may regard it with favor for one reason, and another for a different reason, while each may feel that the aspect in which he views it, and the particular consideration which appeals effectively to his generous sympathy, are of sufficient importance to justify his unreserved co-operation. Hence, among the variety of reasons that secure the concurrence of its numerous friends, we find the foreign reason and the domestic—the Southern reason and the Northern—the political, the commercial and the religious reason.

But, Sir, there is one patron of this enterprise, whose discerning eye contemplates it in every aspect, and whose candor appreciates all its designs and tendencies, and in whose bosom all these reasons are blended into one, and whose kindness hesitates not to express the cordial wish, and extend the liberal hand, and offer the fervent prayer for its enlarged success. Her name is Christianity.

She is the friend of Africa, and over her multiplied sufferings she has often poured the tears of sympathy. Fifteen centuries ago she had a home in that dark land, and many of her sable sons were among the most gifted of the age, and the communities over which her primeval spirit held holy sway, were large and flourishing. But the spirit of error subsequently usurped her throne, and she was driven Northward to seek an asylum in rougher regions and sterner climes. To this succeeded a long and dreary night, and the land of Ham was enveloped in its thickest shades, and Christianity, imprisoned among the fastnesses of the Alps, thought in vain of piercing the gloom with her radiance, or of shedding upon that benighted population the beams of her day-star. From the ruins of Carthage to the southernmost Cape, and from the Isthmus of Suez to the pillars of Hercules, over the entire peninsula, every habitable spot swarmed with human beings; but every intellect of those millions was dark with ignorance, and every heart dark with idolatry and crime. At length this midnight silence was interrupted, though by no friendly voice. The "fierce spoiler" commenced his deadly work of dispeopling this land, and tearing away its untutored tribes to work his mines, and cultivate his cane-fields, in the isles of the West. A scene ensued to which no barbarian annals, no savage tradition furnish a parallel:—

> "Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic waves,
> For guilty ages, rolled the tide of slaves;
> A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest,
> Constant as day and night, from east to west;
> Still widening, deepening, swelling in its course,
> With boundless ruin, and resistless force."

This was a spectacle at which Christianity wept blood, and her anguish was the keener, as she saw that these ruffian wretches wore *her* livery, and claimed to be her fast friends. Africa, thus rifled of her noblest progeny, she pitied, and she pitied that progeny, too, doomed to bondage, service, stripes, and perhaps death. She ever has been, and still is, the best friend of the slave; and she has proved her friendship by devising and executing the wisest schemes, either to secure his release from inglorious thraldom, or the softening of the rigors of his unrighteous servitude.

Intent upon delivering Africa from her cruel exactors, she prompted a Sharpe, a Clarkson, and a Wilberforce to expose the character of the slave-trade, and to persevere in holding up its horrors to the execration of the world—and she presided in England's councils when the stern voice of truth and conscience prevailed, and the traffic was abolished and condemned as abhorrent to humanity and to God.

And I have said that Christianity is the patron of the Society whose claims we are to-night considering. It was indeed under the promptings of her benevolence that the enterprise had its origin. The sainted spirits of such men as Finley, and Caldwell, and Boudinot, could tell you that the corner stone

was laid in prayer, and with devout reliance on the blessing of Him whose are the gold and the silver of the earth, and in whose hand are the hearts of men. There is, Sir, but a few yards from the gorgeous edifice in which our National Legislature holds its deliberations, a humble dwelling, where a few of the friends of the Negro, and the Negro's God, were accustomed to assemble, and solicit Divine guidance touching their own and their country's duty upon this momentous subject. And their petition was heard, and a plan was matured, and the time arrived for its execution.

And though at the organization of the Society men gave it their countenance, whose piety, and whose philanthropy even, are very questionable—and though it still reckons many among its friends whose motives are immensely remote from the religious, yet the presiding spirit, the life and soul of the Institution has ever been, and ever must be, Christian principle. The patriot and the statesman are deeply concerned in its success, and they cannot withhold their influence and co-operation—but it commends itself especially to the *Christian* heart, for there it finds a chord that vibrates in unison with its noble design. The most active and efficient friends of the scheme have been those whom Christianity claims as her own. Men of her own spirit and training have been the most ready to engage as agents at home and abroad. She superintended the location and the establishment of the Colony. She has induced hundreds of her colorod disciples to go out as pioneers of the enterprise, and she has there rewarded them with freedom, quietude and plenty—and she now stands upon the shore of that happy home of the emigrant, and stretches her inviting hand over the Atlantic, and with a voice peculiarly her own, says to more than 2,000,000 of our population, "*Come, for all things are now ready.*" And who does not know, that from the first movement, Christian beneficence has furnished a large proportion of the means for the sustentation and enlargement of the Colony.

Sir, it is because the objects of this Society are good, that she approves them —and because they are both great and good that she fosters them with her patronage. Contemplating the final removal from our country's escutcheon of a stain which is hourly growing deeper and broader and darker—and designing to alleviate the wretchedness of the free colored population, and place them in circumstances favorable to their physical and moral improvement—and aiming at the elevation of the black to a platform parallel with the white man, she delights in its high purposes, for they are kindred to her own—and she would be recreant to her professions, did she not extend to it her cordial encouragement, and sanction it with her choicest benedictions.

But one of the strongest reasons why this scheme is her favorite, is the bearing it seems destined to have upon the welfare of Africa—insulted, bleeding Africa. True, Spain and Portugal, France and Holland, Denmark and Britain, owe that land of sorrows the first and heaviest debt, for they were the plunderers of her slaves—

"Christian brokers in the trade of blood"—

But Christian philanthropy waits not for others—and she is now waking up a spirit in the length and breadth of our Republic, that is determined to indemnify Africa for all the wrongs she has suffered at *our* hands, and to repay her with favors an hundred fold greater than she has ever enjoyed. Aiming to bring all the world into obedience under her mild and gentle reign, she is by this enterprise designing to accomplish her object in respect to that quarter of the globe. Having opened a way for the restoration of exiles to the land of their fathers, she intends to communicate, by their return, the blessings of civilization, and the tidings of a Saviour's mercy.

Facts make it evident enough that the Colony has already begun to exert an influence of this holy tendency—and such an influence as foretokens important results. Many a slave factory has been broken up, and the traffickers in human flesh have been compelled to remove the scenes of their nefarious operations. The children of the natives have been brought into the schools of the Colony, and soon will be sent forth into the surrounding region to teach the tribes rudiments of learning, and the knowledge of the true God. The elevated religious character of the colonists, their serious observance of the Sabbath, their strict integrity in commercial intercourse, and their habitual propriety of conduct, have secured the respect of the natives, and placed matters in such an attitude, that any efforts to promote their temporal and eternal welfare would be kindly received and abundantly successful.

Viewed in this light, the indications are such as cheer the hopes of every one who desires the prosperity of that kingdom which is not of this world—and for this reason, if for no other, does the scheme in question deserve the acquiescence and the support of every good man in the nation. It aims not only to alleviate physical wo, and improve physical condition—it aims at elevating a mass of degraded mind, and pouring upon it not only the light of science, but the light of life. Hence Christianity makes it her agent in accomplishing her purposes of love—and if her friends would have their sympathies and efforts run parallel with hers, they must bring to the promotion of this object, warm hearts and full hands.

Sir, I am not ignorant, that the anticipation of redeeming Africa, by such means, has been ridiculed—and if it were not ridiculed, I should think it hardly worth indulging;—but, candidly investigated, what is there in this fond hope, but the result of sober calculation? From instrumentality far feebler than this, the world has witnessed stupendous effects—and we are not ashamed to anticipate for this enterprise such consequences as shall gladden coming generations. Only let the friends of the cause adhere to original principles, and prosecute their object in full confidence that God from his high and holy place smiles upon it with approbation, and they will yet see results that shall compensate for every sacrifice, and fill the heart with gladness and gratitude. They will yet see a belt of flourishing colonies encircling the coast from Tangiers to Babelmandel—the slave-trade utterly discontinued—the rich soil cultivated by its industrious proprietors—all the arts of civilized life introduced and flourishing—the Bible read in every language—kraals converted into cleanly and thrifty hamlets—and the incense of praise ascending to Jehovah from a thousand churches.

This, Sir, is the vision, bright and beautiful, which the believer in revelation delights to contemplate in the train of this enterprise. Here Christianity presides as the guardian genius, and we understand not how any man who desires her triumphs, can withhold his approbation or his aid from this beneficent object. He who befriends it, co-operates with her designs—he who opposes it, is so far her antagonist.

On motion of the Rev. G. W. Blagden, of this city, seconded by the Hon. J. W. Lincoln of Worcester,

Resolved, That the aspect of Divine Providence is highly favorable to the operations of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Chairman—It is at once a pleasing and a profitable reflection, in view of what has been said by my Rev. brother who has preceded me, with reference to the claims which this Society has upon the exertions of every follower of the Redeemer, that the dispensations of Jehovah's providence, and the precepts of Jehovah's word, are perfectly harmonious with each other. So that if any Christian, or body of Christians shall, with reference to any duty, act faithfully in accordance with the principles of his Word, it will be found, before long, that they will be encouraged and assisted in their work, by the wonderful dispensations of his Providence,—bringing forth good out of evil, light out of darkness, and motives for hope out of the apparent grounds for despondency. This principle, if I mistake not, is strikingly illustrated in the history of this Society. In accordance with it, the resolution has been expressed,—and in endeavoring to enforce it, it shall be my single design to present, briefly, a few of the points in which the aspect of Providence affords this encouragement.

The course of Divine Providence, Sir, clearly evinces that the progress of truth has ever been modified by the circumstances with which it was surrounded. It has not been the way with Jehovah to advance moral principles through the world by main force. This is contrary to the nature of moral truth, which addresses itself to the faculties of voluntary agents. Men are to be treated agreeably to their nature, and things are not to be pushed, but by moral influence, adapted to the circumstances in which men are placed. This, consequently, has been a striking characteristic in all moral reformations. The Almighty has led the way to them, not suddenly and at once, but gradually, and in proportion as men were capable of learning the lessons which he designed to teach them. "I have many things to tell you of, but ye cannot bear them now", has been as truly and as emphatically a declaration of his Providence, as it is of his

Word. The reformation itself was a crisis, not produced in a moment; and the causes which led Luther with such devoted zeal, and noble moral courage to assume and to maintain the stand which he did, were causes gradually developed, and gradually influencing his mind. At the commencement of the struggle, he had no idea of the work which he was about to accomplish. The departure of the Puritans from England and Germany, their consequent settlement here, and our own revolution and successful struggle for liberty, growing out of that settlement, were the result of causes gradually developing themselves, and gradually influencing the human mind, to be traced in their operation throughout the protectorate of Cromwell, and the reigns of the first and second Charles. I might allude to other historical facts, illustrative of the same principle, but these are sufficient to exhibit its operation.

Sir, the analogy of Divine Providence in this respect, affords the highest encouragement to the American Colonization Society. This association proceeds upon the same principles. It does not uproot, at once, the foundations of human society. It feels, and it acts as if it felt, the deep conviction, that moral influence,—benevolent and judicious moral influence, is to be used with master and slave. These were the convictions in which it originated. They who formed it, were fully convinced, as they investigated the condition of the southern population of our beloved country, that the cloud which overshadowed it was not to be dispersed in a moment. They felt, in view of the whole case, that in touching the subject of Slavery, they were treading as on a volcano of human passions. They might, by one rash act, have uncapped the crater, and let the lava of desolation spread far and wide over the beautiful section of our land, for the good of which they labored. They chose rather to follow the analogy of Providence, and to act differently. They chose rather to give those passions gradual vent, that they might as gradually expend themselves, and the coolness of right reason be eventually restored. Even with all their care, in this respect, I well remember the excitement which was created in many minds by the rumor of what they were doing, as it spread around the city of my habitation when a boy,—the city in which the Society was formed, in the manner to which the speaker who preceded me has so interestingly alluded. What has been the result of this their conduct? Has not Providence, in harmony with the principles we have just laid down, wonderfully assisted and encouraged them? To what are we indebted for the far spread, and widely spreading public sentiment in favor of doing something for the slave, if it be not to the persevering exertions of this Society? Nay, Sir, to what are those very men, who now oppose its operations with such virulence, so much indebted for the degree of public interest on this subject which enables them to act, as they are to the efforts of this Association?—although, like the viper in the fable, they sting the hand, which has warmed them into existence.

But there are *objections* urged against the efforts of the Society, and with reference to one of the most specious of them, permit me to say farther:—The aspect of Providence is peculiarly favorable to the Society, because it evinces that one of the most plausible objections which is urged against its proceedings, might be brought, with equal reason, against the government of God.

It is alleged, Sir, that the effect of this Association is, in fact, to rivet the bonds of the slave, because slaveholders avail themselves of the facilities which it affords to drain off the excess of the free blacks, that they may oppress, with the greater safety, those who are still in bondage. The objection proceeds upon the principle, that if the designs of benevolence are perverted by selfish men, for the advancement of their own ends, such designs are to be abandoned, as unworthy of our countenance and support. But, Sir, is this principle a correct one? Permit me to say that, if adopted and carried out, it would overthrow the government of God himself. It is the remark of Bishop Butler, in his immortal work, that the Word and Providence of God being harmonious with each other, it would be natural to suppose that the same objections might weigh against the latter, which are brought by infidels against the former; and he accordingly proceeds, in the most forcible manner, to show, that the man who objects against the great doctrines of revelation, and becomes a Deist, must, upon the same principles, object against the course of the Providence of God, and become an Atheist.

Now, this same mode of reasoning applies to *particular acts*, for the good of men, which are produced by the practical effect of the principles of the Word of God upon the hearts and lives of those who are conformed to its precepts.

The same objections might be urged against the acts of Jehovah himself, in his Providence, which are urged against these. And this is emphatically true in the instance which is before us Who does not know, that Jehovah has made it true, in the nature of things, that even selfish men must find it for their great interest to act upon the principles of benevolence? There is not an avaricious, all-grasping miser in the world, who is not necessitated, more or less, to act benevolently to some circle of his fellow-beings, however small, in order that he may advance his own selfish purposes. And thus hath God most wonderfully made the wrath of man to praise him, while the remainder of that wrath he doth restrain, by making it true, in the nature of things, that selfishness itself is obliged, to a great extent, to adopt and proceed upon the principles of benevolence, and be the means of accomplishing good of which it never thought. Now will any man throw off the providential government of a holy God, on this account? Will he presumptuously say, that there are many wicked men, who avail themselves of it, to promote their ends, and therefore we will not have God to reign over us? There is not a mind, I trust, in this assembly, which does not respond to such interrogations,—"God forbid!"—And yet, the objection brought against the Colonization Society, that slaveholders avail themselves of it, that they may with the more safety retain their slaves, proceeds upon this principle. Admitting the fact, in some instances to be so, it proves nothing in favor of the objector, unless he shows that the principles of the Society are anti-scriptural, and of course anti-benevolent,—and that this is the reason why slaveholders, in some cases, are induced to favor it. Does he take such a position? Does he say that the principles of the Society *are* anti-scriptural and anti-benevolent? If so, we deny the fact, and are fairly at issue with him on this point. We appeal to the *effects* already produced by the Society,—the public sentiment it has gradually formed, and is still forming in favor of the abolition of slavery,—a public sentiment of which, as we have seen, its very enemies experience the benefit, in their efforts to overthrow the Institution. We appeal to the names most prominent in its formation,—the names of Finley, and Samuel J. Mills, men whose influence was not generally found on the side of anti-scriptural sentiments or actions. We appeal to the majority of its present friends,—men anxious to remove from our land, and its fair fame, the evils and the stain of slavery, in the most benevolent and firm manner. We appeal to the instances of the emancipation of slaves themselves, already produced by the influence of the Society. Are these the effects, and are these the supporters of an anti-scriptural and anti-benevolent Association? No, Sir, they are not. The objector cannot make good the charge on which alone his objection can have a valid foundation. He cannot, without closing his eyes against the clearest facts, affirm that the Society is opposed to the benevolence of the Gospel. And if so, he cannot urge the objection, that some slaveholders may favor its advancement for the purpose of promoting their own selfish interests, without also admitting a principle, which, in its legitimate operation, would overthrow the moral government of God

There is yet another aspect of Divine Providence, Mr. Chairman, which affords encouragement to this Society;—I allude to the fact that opposition to truth hastens its final triumph. Among other ways, it does it strikingly in this,—it causes truth to be more thoroughly investigated by its friends. The foundations of our faith, even in the religion of Christ, are sometimes made to tremble by sudden and unexpected objections. The believer *feels* that his faith is true, and to him such evidence is satisfactory and delightful,—but he is called sometimes to give an answer to those who ask a *reason* of the hope which is in him, and he is not prepared for the summons, because he has relied too exclusively upon feeling. It is well thus to lay him under a necessity of examining the intellectual grounds of his faith. Providence has already shown, in instances almost innumerable, how well it is for truth to be occasionally assailed. It calls forth the investigations of its friends,—it requires them to examine well the grounds on which they stand, and to know better what they say, and whereof they affirm. And thus some of the noblest works on the evidences of Christianity, as well as in support of its peculiar and fundamental doctrines, have been drawn forth by the attacks of its enemies; and truth has come out from the furnace of trial seven times purified; and far more beautiful in the eyes of all who love it.

Sir, this will be the case with the principles of Colonization. I confess that when the cry was first raised against the Society, owing to its alleged tendency to rivet the bonds upon the slave, I was one who trembled. I had *felt*, but

not reasoned much upon the subject of slavery, and had hailed the colonization scheme as one which opened at least one door for universal emancipation. When it was declared, that instead of opening such a door, its only tendency was to exert an influence which would the more effectually close and bolt it,—the fear that the accusation might be true, was the more distressing, because the knowledge requisite to rebut it was not at command. As in religious faith —so it is in the confidence which we may place in the rectitude of a society like this,—the very fact that arguments in its favor are not immediately at hand, —will sometimes cause us to tremble and become sceptical under a sudden attack, when a more minute investigation restores confidence, and inspires new courage in the advancement of the truth.

Let any, then, who may be in this state of surprise, examine the circumstances of our country, and look into the principles of this Society, and they will find that it contains the elements of truth. We do not claim for it perfection. We do not say that it is all which we wish, and all that we hope it may become. We believe, as we observe the analogy of Providence, that opposition to its advancement will contribute to its greater perfection, and will not overthrow it, because truth lies at its foundation. It will lead its friends to investigate its principles the more thoroughly, and become able to defend them the more successfully and triumphantly. It will teach them where they are vulnerable, and induce them cheerfully to rectify whatever may be, to any extent, wrong. Above all, it will inspire them with new zeal in the work they have undertaken for the welfare of the free black, and the freedom of the slave.

But one remark more, Sir, and I have done;—Providence is rapidly developing the fact, that the best interests of slaveholders themselves, demand the abolition of slavery. In this respect its aspect is peculiarly encouraging.

It is an interesting and important truth, Mr Chairman, that whenever men depart, with reference to any subject, from the principles of the law and gospel of God, they begin, sooner or later, to find, that in sinning against him, they have alike wronged their own souls, and proceeded contrary to their own temporal interests. The course of Providence, harmonious with eternal justice, is found to be against them, and *godliness* only is found to have the promise of the life which now is, as well as of that which is to come. This is becoming remarkably the case with slavery in our own land. Slaveholders are beginning to be convicted of the fact, that slavery, after all, is a losing system. They begin to feel and acknowledge that voluntary labor is doubly valuable, when compared with that which is coerced. They begin to contrast the green fields and well cultivated farms where there are no slaves, with the comparatively barren prospects and ill improved lands where slaves exist. They begin to notice the comparatively unimproved state of the intellect, and the influence of unrestrained passions, and the prevalence of idle and dissipated habits, in places where slavery pampers the body and mind of man,—and the opposite subjection of passion to reason, and rapid acquisitions of intellect, and the industrious, unvitiated state of things produced by a system, where men are necessitated more generally to labor for themselves, or to reward those who voluntarily labor for them. So strong is this conviction becoming amid some classes of the community, that not long since, upon the floor of Congress, a member of that body, from a large slave-holding State, declared his belief, (as nearly as I can recollect the sentiment) that the system of slavery, like the feudal system of Europe, would gradually be done away, from the deep conviction on the part of slaveholders themselves, that it would be far better for themselves, were it entirely abolished.

Our attention has already been called, by the gentleman who first addressed you this evening, to the state of the public mind in Virginia, on this interesting subject;—and he might, with equal propriety, have referred to Maryland, her sister State, in whose Legislature a resolution has, but a few weeks since, been introduced, with what prospects of success I am unable to say, proposing the emancipation of slaves after a given period. In these, Sir, and in other signs of the times, we hail the commencement of better days to this Society, than any, which, though highly favored, it has ever seen. There can be no doubt that it has already done more than any thing else, towards awakening the public mind to an increased attention to the important subject of slavery. There can be no doubt, as the conviction increases that slavery is an evil, the eyes of the southern section of our land will be turned towards its proceedings with an interest still more intense. It has done much, and deserves our com-

mendation, even were it to do no more. But, it aims at still higher things. It is ready not only to excite a correct public sentiment, by every means in its power, but it rises as that sentiment increases and spreads, to yet higher effort. We confidently hope, that what it has accomplished is but as the shadow of good things to come. And that if firmly and perseveringly supported, it will be ready, as time moves on, and new circumstances of encouragement are developed in the providence of God,—to embark in other projects, and put forth yet nobler efforts for the emancipation of the slave,—until the light, and the joy of liberty shall be seen and felt, by every being, in every portion of our beloved land.

On motion of the Hon. CALEB CUSHING, of Newburyport, seconded by the Rev. E. S. GANNET, of this city,

Resolved, That every patriotic and peaceful citizen of the United States, while he seeks by suitable means to better the condition of our colored population, should anxiously abstain from acts inconsistent with the text or spirit of the Federal Constitution; and which have a tendency therefore to introduce into the country general evils of incalculable magnitude, and at the same time defeat all benevolent designs in behalf of the blacks by subverting the union of the States.

Mr. Cushing felt a delicacy in rising to address the Society at so late an hour, [it was near nine o'clock,] but it seemed due to those who had honored him with a request to that effect, that he should venture to add the very little it might be in his power to add, to the remarks of the gentleman who had preceded him. He was aware that his views might be dry, jejune and uninteresting, in regard to the topics which he should endeavor to present to the attention of the Society, but they seemed to him to be of sufficient importance to warrant the suggestions he proposed to make, with reference to the duties of the citizens of one portion of the States, affecting the rights of those of another.

In the opinions he was about to utter, he wished to be understood as impeaching no motives, and condemning no man or set of men; and while he freely conceded this to others with whom he differed, in regard to the means of accomplishing the object of improving the condition of an oppressed and degraded race of our fellow men, he claimed for himself the same candid construction of his motives. He avowed distinctly that he was no friend to slavery. From principle, and upon every consideration which had any influence upon opinion, he viewed with regret and disapprobation, the existence of personal slavery in any form. He viewed it as an evil of great magnitude, not merely in regard to the slave, but as an evil of still greater magnitude in regard to the master who holds the slave. He deprecated every measure which divested man of his natural and unalienable rights, and bound down to servitude and ignorance the eternal spirit of the chainless mind. Such were his views of slavery in theory and practice. We all concur in the belief that it is an evil of great magnitude, which we should rejoice to see forever removed from among us. What means shall we use to accomplish this great object?

Here there was a difference of opinion, and he had no doubt an honest difference of opinion. What then were our duties in this respect, as citizens of this State and of the United States, in reference to the existence of slavery, and the rights of the Southern States? The first duty of a good citizen was to confine himself within the limits of the law and the Constitution. It was obvious that this Society had been formed and conducted upon that principle. Its operations were circumscribed by the Constitution and the laws of the land. The objection urged against the Society is, that it does not meet the evil which it proposes to remedy. That the natural increase of the slave population exceeds the removals which are made, or ever can be made, through the agency of the Colonization Society; and that by the removal of the free blacks, it enhances the value of the slaves left behind, and encourages the slave holder in retaining this species of property. But, admitting that the means and purposes of the Colonization Society are inadequate to produce any great impression upon the slave population, by removals of the free blacks, it nevertheless has a definite object

of great good, in looking to the improvement of the condition of the African race, in free communities, where they can enjoy advantages denied to them in this country.

The object of the Society, it is insisted, should be immediate abolition. Now it is obvious that the abolition of slavery, unless by the universal consent of the slave holders, cannot be effected but by the alteration of the Constitution protecting that species of property. A convention of the States must be called to amend the Constitution, and if called, and the alterations of the provisions guarding slave property, were to be insisted on by any of the States, can it be doubted for a moment that eleven of the States would dissolve the Union on the point of interference with their slaves! No one who has observed the extreme sensitiveness of the South, in this particular, can doubt that such would be the result. Those who aim at immediate abolition, and insist that should be the first object of this Society, are met in the threshold with this objection. Shall we have an Union of the States, or shall we shipwreck the whole on this point? Shall we not rather do as our patriotic forefathers did in their determination on this same question? Dearly as they loved liberty, and as ardently as they condemned personal slavery, they had no other alternative but to admit it, as they found it then existing at the South, or to surrender all hopes of an union of the States.

The entire abolition of slavery was a favorite object with the patriotic men of that day, but that or the Union must be surrendered. A compromise was effected. The South conceded that in twenty years the slave trade should be abolished; and the North conceded that the Constitution should secure to the South a representation in Congress of three fifths of their slave population, and that each State should be bound to surrender to the citizens of other States such fugitive slaves as should be found within their limits. In addition to which it is provided that the United States shall interpose, on requisition of either of the States, to protect its citizens against *domestic violence*. These principles were fully recognized in the Constitution, and so long as they remain there, we are bound, as good citizens, to respect them. In the amendments to the Constitution, the effect of these provisions is confirmed, by the declaration that all powers not conceded to the United States, nor prohibited to either of the States, by the Constitution, remain in the separate States. Hence, as the Constitution gives no control on that subject, the regulation of domestic slavery, which was the exclusive right of the Southern States, before the Constitution, remains with them, as one of the powers not transferred to the United States. The legal construction is, that the South who hold slaves, retain the right of exclusive regulation over them. The United States cannot touch it. If we insist on abolition, we must amend the Constitution, which, as it now stands, renders it as improper and unavailing for us to attempt to interfere with the regulations of the Southern States touching their slaves, as it would be for us to attempt to regulate the arrangements of the British House of Commons, or the appointment of the French Ministers. And if the United States cannot, under the Constitution, interfere with the domestic regulations of slavery at the South, still less can any single State do so. The State of Massachusetts has no more right to interfere with the legislation of other States in this particular, than the King of Great Britain has to levy a stamp tax or a tea duty in the city of Boston.

If, then, we are bound to support the Constitution, and to respect the rights which it secures to a portion of our fellow citizens composing a part of the Union, are we not also bound by the spirit of that Constitution, to abstain from all inflammatory publications which tend to excite insurrection, and to deprive the holder of the slave of his rights of property secured to him under the Constitution? An opposite course may justly be regarded as injurious to the slave, whose condition we are seeking to improve. By inflammatory publications, tending to excite insurrection, we drive the masters of slaves to shut them out from the light, and to withhold from them the ordinary means of education. It is a consideration which assuredly ought not to be disregarded by the friends of immediate abolition; that if we approach this object by means of inflammatory publications, or if we were to attempt its accomplishment by an amendment of the Constitution in this respect, that must result in a separation of the States? in either event, we deprive ourselves of all means of reaching the evil we propose to remedy, or of improving the condition of the blacks. In the event of a separation, the slave States become to us a foreign government, and we could have no means of influencing them in regard to their slave population, no more than we now have in influencing legislature upon this subject

in the island of Cuba. Slavery in the South would become hermetrically sealed against our benevolence.

He would not go into the consequences that must result from such a course. Wherever we can aid in improving the condition of the blacks, let us do so constitutionally. But let us not, by inflammatory publications, by appeals tending to produce insurrection, and if not, tending to excite the asperity of the South, so as to compel her to shut the door upon us—let us not prevent all approaches toward improving the condition of her slave population, and finally accomplish the great work of emancipation, through their co-operation.

While we were exerting our sympathies for the slave, we should not altogether lose sight of the master. In seeking to remove one evil, we should be cautious that we do not introduce a greater evil.

He would suggest a single fact, as an admonition to those who were seeking the immediate abolition of slavery, without regard to the consequences. It was a fact in the history of America, doubtless familiar to many who heard him, but which appeared to him to be strikingly applicable to the view he had taken of this subject. The discovery of America, and the subjection of the Moors, who had held possession in Spain since 711, were contemporaneous events in the year 1492. The Spanish Moors had acquired from the Mohametans of the North of Africa, the practice of holding slaves, and they introduced it into Europe. The Christians, living side by side with those who held slaves, acquired the same practice, and in the year 1500 permission was granted by the Court of Spain, to carry to the Colonies of South America, negro slaves, natives of Spain; and thus slavery was introduced into America. The excessive burdens imposed upon the Indians of South America, by their Spanish conquerors, at an early period arrested the attention of the philanthropists of that time. Among these, the Ecclesiastics were most conspicuous; and it is due to say of the ministers of religion, that they were then, as they are now, foremost in works of benevolence.

Bartholemew de Las Casas devoted his life to bettering the condition of the Indians. He crossed the Atlantic again and again—he braved all dangers—he shrunk from no fatigue in their behalf—he unceasingly urged the claims of that oppressed race at the Spanish Court. In his sympathies for one class of his fellow men, he disregarded the rights of another class, and from mistaken motives of humanity, proposed to the Emperor Charles V. a project to import negro slaves directly from Africa, into that warm climate which was congenial to them, in order to relieve the labors of the Indians. Unfortunately this project was adopted, and this was the foundation of slavery in America. This fact should serve as an admonition. Men of ardent and philanthropic minds, impressed with the importance of an object which enlists the best feelings of human nature, are prone to fall into the error of taking too limited and partial views of the subject, losing sight of incidental consequences in their devoted attention to the single object which absorbs their immediate sympathies.

Such was the error of the amiable Las Casas. It is a lesson well adapted to the times, to teach us to beware, lest we be guilty of a similar error, and in attempting to better the condition of the blacks, bring down upon them and upon our country greater evils than those we are striving to avert.

It was for these reasons he had presented on this occasion the suggestions that had occurred to him touching the constitutional duties, involved in the means that were to be used to improve the condition of the slave population in the United States. This was the period above all others, to abstain from calling up the exciting question of the relation between the master and the slave, in the southern portion of our country. It was not a time to go beyond the pale of the Constitution to seek for causes of disaffection and disunion. There was enough within the Constitution on which jealousies were already aroused, and parties formed, that endanger the permanency of the Union.

The storm lowers over our heads. The fountains of the great deep are broken up around us, and shall we rashly cut loose from the sheet anchor of our hope, the Constitution, which can alone enable us to retain our station among the nations. My voice is for the Constitution; I am for the Union, betide what may; and as a citizen of these United States, I feel bound so to act in regard to this question, as well as all others, that while we of the North claim from the South the uttermost scruple of our just rights, and contend for them manfully and independently, we shall evince that we entertain a due respect for the vested rights of the South.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year; viz:

Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, *President.*

Rt. Rev. ALEXANDER V. GRISWOLD,
Hon. H. A. S. DEARBORN,
Hon. WM. B. CALHOUN,
Hon. ISAAC C. BATES,
Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT,
HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D.,
THEODORE SEDGWICK, Esq.,
His Honor SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG,
THOMAS NAPIER, Esq.,
Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS,
Hon. JAMES FOWLER,
Hon. DANIEL WALDO,
} *Vice Presidents.*

Doct. J. V. C. SMITH, *Secretary.*

ISAAC MANSFIELD, Esq., *Treasurer.*

Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, Dedham,
Hon. JOSIAH ROBBINS, Plymouth,
Hon. JOHN W. LINCOLN, Worcester,
Rev. HOWARD MALCOM, Boston,
Rev. E. S. GANNET, Boston,
Hon. ELIPHALET WILLIAMS, Northampton,
CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq., Boston,
Prof. S. M. WORCESTER, Amherst College,
GEORGE A. TUFTS, Esq, Dudley,
Doct. JOHN S. BUTLER, Worcester,
THOMAS A. GREENE, Esq., New Bedford,
Hon. WILLIAM S. HASTINGS, Mendon,
Hon. IRA BARTON, Oxford,
Rev. B. B. EDWARDS, Boston,
CHARLES STODDARD, Esq., Boston,
Rev. WILLIAM HAGUE, Boston,
Rev. JOHN PIERPONT, Boston,
SAMUEL M. McKAY, Pittsfield,
WILLIAM J. HUBBARD, Boston,
B. B. THATCHER, Esq., Boston,
} *Managers.*

FACTS.

Assertions are better than conjectures, arguments better than assertions, but facts better than arguments. An argument may contain a flaw which only a very microscopic mental eye can detect. A fact may be seen and understood by the most stupid.

It is a fact, then, that some of the best and most devoted men in the land were early engaged in the Colonization enterprize, such as Finley, Thornton, Mills, Caldwell, Ashmun, Bacon, Lot Carey, Sessions, Skinner, Holton, &c. "These all died in faith" of the ultimate success of the enterprise.

It is a fact, that the territory for the Colony was purchased by fair treaty, and that any amount of additional territory can now be purchased for future settlements.

It is a fact, that the Colony at Liberia has not, since its foundadation in 1822, suffered so much in point of sickness and other adversities, as the Colony at Plymouth did in *six months*—no, not so much by ten times.

It is a fact, that Monrovia is now as healthy as any city on the Atlantic seaboard.

It is a fact, that the slave trade was once carried on, to the shame of man, and the indignation of Heaven, at the very spot where the Colony is now situated, TWO THOUSAND slaves having been annually exported from the rendezvous; but now the black banner of the piratical slave-trader cowers at the sight of the American Eagle on the summit of Cape Montserado, and disappears in confusion.

It is a fact, that ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND Europeans in a single year dissolved the tender ties of home and country, and upon their own private resources *emigrated* to this LAND OF THE FREE to lay their bones among us. What difficulty, then, but that which is created by a weak, an unbelieving, or a hostile mind, can there be in ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND Africans (double the annual increase) returning to their father land, even on their own private resources?

It is a fact, that FIFTEEN MILLIONS of unoffending Africans have been torn away from their native country by avarice and cruelty. Cannot the generosity and kindness of a Christian nation carry back TWO MILLIONS, the whole number of the slaves?

It is a fact, that the Colonization Society tends to gradual emancipation. 1. By making the whole nation talk more about slavery than it ever did before, and if such an "accursed thing" is the topic of conversation, it must be reprobated, and public sentiment will daily gather strength against the evil, until it is overthrown. 2. Liberty is on the march all over the world. The friends of Colonization use this fact against slavery. 3. The spectacle of a republic of free blacks on the coast of Africa, making their own laws, and administering justice among themselves, the sovereigns of the soil, and the regulators of their own commerce, *must* react with irresistible force upon the country from which they originally emigrated. 4. Those States, Virginia and Kentucky, for example, which are now struggling for universal emancipation, are *Colonization* States, i. e. ardent supporters of the scheme. 5. Those States, South Carolina, for example, which, as a matter of principle advocate the perpetuity of slavery, are opposed to the Colonization Society. 6. Those individuals at the South, who dislike slavery, and are contending for

emancipation, support the Society. 7. By removing the free colored population from the presence of the slaves, the former, while they themselves are furnished with employment, are prevented from tempting the latter to idleness, insubordination, and insurrection, and the slaves are thus saved the distress of a more rigorous bondage consequent on rebellion. 8. By appealing to the will of the master, instead of appealing to the passions of the slaves themselves, the Colonization Society seeks to incline it to universal emancipation. The Constitution and the Laws would then no longer protect slavery.

It is a fact, that the Colonists are actively engaged in trade, (in such articles as dyewoods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, rice, &c.) and that the net profits on wood and ivory in 1826 were $30,786—that in 1831 forty-six vessels visited the Colony, and the exports for the year ending April, 1832, were $120,000, while the imports were $80,000. Yet the Society had expended, from its organization up to that time, only about $150,000.

It is a fact, that upwards of *seven hundred* emancipated slaves are now enjoying the sweets of liberty and the protection of law in the Colony, while there is a distinct flourishing village of some hundreds of recaptured Africans, called *New Georgia.*

It is a fact, that schools are established competent to instruct all the children in the Colony,—that Divine service is attended three times on the Sabbath, and on Thursday and Friday evenings, and that decorum and order universally prevail.

It is a fact, that the Legislatures of fourteen States, and nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States, have passed resolutions approving the objects of the Society.

It is a fact, that the people of New England owe an incalculable debt to the African race, and that an opportunity is now offered to repay that debt.

It is a fact, that the Parent Society has numerous applications from various quarters for assistance in emigrating to Liberia, and that it could now advantageously spend TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS in fitting out expeditions to the Colony, while its Treasury is exhausted. Will not the friends of humanity and religion lend us a helping hand?

☞ Communications, donations, &c. may be sent to JOSHUA N. DANFORTH, No. 4, Bowdoin Street, Boston.

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